



# **IWA EXTERNAL BULLETIN**

## **FEBRUARY 2013**

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## EDITORIAL

When the IWMA (IWA since 1974) held its founding congress at the turn of the years 1922-1923, it was against a background of great upheavals. World War I had ended a few years earlier, a war which was immediately followed by widespread revolutionary movements in a number of countries, setting lasting trends in the development of the world.

The so-called Red trade union international was founded at a congress in Moscow in 1921. This organization made great efforts to get the revolutionary syndicalists as members, but the revolutionary syndicalist organizations refused, being unwilling to be involved in a union international led by a political movement.

During the days 25.12.1922 to 02.01.1923 delegates from 10 countries representing about 2 million organized workers held a congress in Berlin. It was at this congress that the revolutionary syndicalist/anarchosyndicalist international IWMA was founded.

Many of the largest affiliated organizations of the IWA were broken, driven underground or wiped out in the 1920s-30s. In Spain it was the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in the twenties and then the repression and strikes and riots during the of Second Republic in the beginning of thirties. Then it was the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and Social Revolution which saw the Spanish CNT-AIT being driven underground because of the victory of the fascists of Francisco Franco.

Germany's FAUD struggled throughout the late 1920s and early 30s against and faced repression by nazism. Italian USI faced brutal repression from Benito Mussolini's fascists, and as FAUD, it was driven underground. Also Portugal's CGT was driven underground and repressed by a dictatorship.

In Argentina, FORA faced further serious repression by a military coup in 1930. Massive government repression repeated such defeats around the world, as anarchosyndicalist unions were destroyed and driven underground in Peru, Brazil, Columbia, Japan, Cuba, Bulgaria, Paraguay and Bolivia.

Today the IWA is with its 13 Sections a lively and active organization. Capitalism shows that it can't resolve peoples basic needs, and it is obvious for more and more workers that the so-called democracies are economic dictatorships.

The best way we can commemorate the foundation of the IWA 90 years ago is to keep on with and be faithful to the ideas of anarchosyndicalism: The IWA will speed up the direct actions and solidarity that are so urgently needed to defend our interests and to fight for a free and libertarian communist society!

**Long live the IWA and anarchosyndicalism!**

**Oslo. February 14<sup>th</sup> 2013**

**IWA- Secretariat**

# Report from the IWA-Plenary in Modena

## November 23-25 and the Centenary of the USI-AIT

Comrades attended Modena from Brazil, France, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Serbia, Slovakia, and Spain and the Plenary was excellently organized by the USI-AIT. On Saturday evening the Centenary of the USI-AIT was celebrated by a demonstration, speeches and with events in the evening as Modena is the place in which the USI was founded hundred years ago. Both the Plenary and the Centenary was held in a very comradely spirit!

There has in the period since the last IWA Plenary in Warsaw in the end of October 2011 to the Modena Plenary, not only been austerity measures and cuts, but also an ideological campaign against the workers. This campaign tries to convince working people that the austerity and crisis is 'their fault' and not the reckless speculation and deregulation of the world economy. The "solution" of the states and capitalists is to dictate the workers to accept what they call "the logic of the market" and austerity measures and attacks are presented as "financial" necessities and "laws".

The websites of the Sections, the IWA website and IWA's External Bulletin show that the IWA and its Sections and Friends day by day are increasing their mobilizations, presence, activities and direct actions: It has in these eleven months since the last Plenary been IWA Days of actions against Austerity measures, exploitation and oppression from March 29 to 31, a General Strike in Spain March 29 and in Spain and Portugal etc. on November 14 that were support by the Sections, and a lot of Urgent actions in support of workers in conflict!

An IWA referendum in the end of Jan. 2012 that the next Plenary should discuss and decide about further mobilizations. Items for discussion in the Plenary in Modena were: Assessment of past mobilizations. These included IWA Days of Actions, international solidarity calls or other mobilizations the Sections have taken part in. Strategic value of international mobilizations and how to pick potential partners.

The Plenary decided International Days of Action against job cuts and dismissals and in support of the unemployed, Days of Action related to housing and new International Days of Action against austerity measures, exploitation and oppression. It will also be actions against the destruction of a Spanish Cemetery in Brazil. All the actions will be announced in good time before they will be put into practice.

The Plenary in Modena also discussed a lot of organizational issues. The 24th IWA Congress in Porto Alegre in December 2009 decided that the 25th IWA Congress should be in Spain in December 2013, and by this the Plenary could clarify issues before the Congress and also improve the present



functioning of the IWA. It was also decided to establish a Syndical Education commission, it was treated issues relating to IWA expansion, the COB-AIT (Brazil) informed about projects and information was an agenda point called "Defence of the IWA and Anarchosyndicalism" in which information was exchanged.

And concerning the Centenary of USI-AIT, the organization was founded in Modena in 1912, and the organization took ten years later actively part in the organizational life from the re-founding of the International Workers Association in Berlin 1922. USI was then dissolved by fascists violence and oppression, but attempts of reorganizing were made in the fifties (Liguria, Toscana) until the reactivation of the USI-AIT in the Parma Congress in 1979. The USI has since been and is active in several working place sectors, and the organization is heavily engaged in antimilitarist issues!

In the afternoon on Saturday 24, a demonstration gathered on the 1st of May Sq. and marched through the city to the main square. People shouted "Long live USI", "Union, Action and Self-Management", "General Strike" and other slogans, even in other languages. On the square, speeches were given on the state of the workers' struggles, anarcho-syndicalism and the IWA, amongst other things. Guests from other countries also spoke in different languages.

One of the appeals in the main square was from a USI-AIT comrade of the San Raffaele hospital in Milan where there is a strike against the dismissal of 244 workers and against the cancellation of the contract agreements which were won after many years of struggle. After some time, the demo went back through the street, with comrades singing revolutionary anarchist songs. Afterwards there was a meal and a concert.

Long live the USI-AIT  
Long live the IWA and Anarchosyndicalism!  
Oslo, December 1- 2012  
IWA- Secretariat



## The USI-AIT goes on Strike against the Attacks on Public Health Care at the San Raffaele Hospital in Milan

**The comrades of the USI-AIT from the hospital of San Raffaele in Milan are on strike, together with some other unions. They are fighting to overturn the regulation which would cause the dismissal of 244 workers and which could cancel contractual agreements which were won after many years of struggle.**

At the beginning of December, the comrades Graziella (delegate of USI) and Daniela camped out of the roof of the hospital to improve the visibility of the protests. The workers of San Raffaele are decided about continuing the strike and actions and mobilization to stop the Italian government, in conjunction with the financial powers, from destroying public health care and working conditions in the hospitals.

The actions in Milan on October 24 and November 14 were very significant – blocking highways, actions in front of the municipal and regional offices, in front of important mass media organs and above all the permanent protests at the entrance to the hospital, where they receive shows of solidarity and support from the population that uses the hospital.

On the same day that the workers camped on the roof, more than 50 workers occupied the Directors' offices. They had to be removed by the riot squad, which used disproportionate force.

The workers workers in the health care sector are aware of this disproportionate attack on San Raffaele, which, to say the least is absurd and unjustified. It is creating an effect on the whole sector and the population, which will see reductions in health care services.

You can send you solidarity to these e-mail addresses:

[ilfontanone@libero.it](mailto:ilfontanone@libero.it) (USI-AIT San Raffaele)

[usisanita.segreterianazionale@gmail.com](mailto:usisanita.segreterianazionale@gmail.com) (USI- Health National Federation)

### USI Parma Protests against Improper Presentation of their History

The Di Vittorio Foundation, an association affiliated to CGIL, the most important union in Italy, established a convention in Parma about the centenary of USI-AIT, without informing the USI-AIT section in Parma, the 6th of December 2012. About 15 workers belonging to USI-AIT Parma interrupted this meeting, despite the presence of several policeman outside the hall, leafleting an announcement whose title was: "USI-AIT, 100 YEARS OF AUTONOMOUS MANAGEMENT, NEVER WITH CGIL AND ALWAYS AGAINST THE MASTERS". USI Parma considered this meeting as disrespectful, since no information was given to the USI local section, since there was a respectful relationship between CGIL and USI before this event, furthermore this act has been seen by USI as an historical manipulation inscribed in a process that CGIL is leading from several years, trying to change some features of the most important event of the local unionist history, especially those that involved the revolutionary union as protagonist.

USI-AIT Parma Section

## Moscow: Rally in Defense of Public Health Care

On February 9, there was a rally in the center of Moscow, as part of an inter-regional day of protest against the politics of destroying public health care. 10 other protests took place that day. In addition, on Jan. 26 there was a demonstration of 300 people in Orenburg, including medical workers and on Feb. 8, there was a picket in defense of the 31<sup>st</sup> hospital in Petersburg and also an action in Yekaterinburg.

From 200-300 people took part in the Moscow rally. Organizers of the rally took measures to limit the influence of the uninvited party activists. In contrast to them where the speeches of the activists from initiatives to make independent health workers unions and activists from the social movement "Against the Destruction of Public Health – together for Decent Health Care". They spoke about the necessity to more actively join the interests of those who use health care services and the workers, who are suffering from cuts and the destruction of public health care.



Members of KRAS and supporters took part in the rally, distributing leaflets explaining the anarchosyndicalist point of view on the antisocial reforms. A member of KRAS spoke to the crowd and pointed out the international character of the attacks by the governments and capital in the name of "cuts", "commercialization" and making public services "efficient".

## Chronicle of Actions of KRAS in the Moscow Region in 2012

In 2012, the members of KRAS took part in a range of actions (rallies, pickets and campaigns) in defense of the social and economic rights of workers. Here is a list of some of the actions, with links to more information (in Russian).

**Winter:** Putting up stickers against elections – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/1915>

**19 January:** Participation in an anti-fascist demo in memory of S. Markelov and A. Baburova – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/1879>

**4 February:** Posters put up in solidarity with the struggle of librarians – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/1908>

**7 February:** Picket in solidarity with Serbian anarchosyndicalists – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/1917>

**17 February:** Picket in front of Adecco office – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/1951>

**25 February:** Distribution of leaflets in Dmitrov against the commercialization of education – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/1990>

**Spring:** Boycott campaign against Euroset as a protest against firing a worker in Ufa – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2027>, <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2080>, <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2107>

**31 March:** Rally-picket «Hands off Social Rights!» – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2057>

**17 April:** Picket at Roche – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2094>

**21 April:** Participation in solidarity demonstration with

workers from the Kamov factory <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2107>

**1 May:** KRAS May Day rally – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2124>

**1 June:** Participation in a rally for free education – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2202>

**1 June:** Rally in memory of the striking workers of Novocherkassk, shot in 1962 –

<http://www.aitrus.info/node/2203>

**6 July:** Picket in front of the Unilever office – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2266>

**8 July:** Support of a gathering against the discrimination of women – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2268>

**10 August:** Participation in a solidarity picket with the dockers of Nachodka – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2335>

**August:** Participation in the Free Artel of Pryamukhino

**15 September:** Putting stickers and distributing leaflets in solidarity with the drivers of Dominos Pizza in Australia – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2408>

**22 September:** Participation in a rally against the destructive of health care – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2422>





**7 October:** Participation in union meeting against social political policies of the government –

<http://www.aitrus.info/node/2451>, <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2454>

**October – December:** Informational support of protests against the closures of clinics and hospitals in Moscow

**10 November:** Participation in rally against the new law on education – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2538>

**1 December:** Participation in a rally in defense of health care – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2565>

**8 December:** Participation in the 4<sup>th</sup> international Kropotkin Readings in Dmitrov –

<http://www.aitrus.info/node/2579>

**9 December:** Putting flowers on Kropotkin's grave – <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2584>

**21 December:** Picnet in front of the Ministry of Health forbidden by the authorities - <http://www.aitrus.info/node/2600>

## Priama akcia activities (November 2012 – January 2013)

### *Education workers' strike and the independent rolling strike*



Priama akcia repeatedly supported education workers in their strike for higher wages and more money for the sector. After the official strike was put on hold, several Bratislava schools started a rolling strike which continued until Christmas. Priama akcia, whose member actively participated in the organization of the rolling strike, prepared leaflets for the demonstrations of the education workers and started a StrikeBlog, covering the most current topics from a worker's perspective.

More info here:

<http://www.priamaakcia.sk/Neobmedzeny-strajk-v-skolstve--solidarita-Priamej-akcie-a-sprava-z--protestu-v-Bratislave.html>.

### *Ideš na brigádu? (Are You Going to Work via Student Contract?) campaign*

Priama akcia continued the campaign related to precarious student work, spreading stickers, posters and other materials in several Slovak towns. We received a story about the working conditions in one of the largest employers in the car industry and published it online and hope to get more! Info about the campaign can be found at: <http://www.priamaakcia.sk/kategoria/brigady> and <http://facebook.com/IdesNaBrigadu>.

### *Promotion of Priama akcia in an online radio*

Members from Priama akcia were invited to online radio Bunker based in Trnava, where we have a member. They spoke about our current activities, including open meetings in Bratislava and Trnava, and answered questions sent by the listeners regarding anarchism, use of law, self-managed factories and cooperatives, and international solidarity.

### *IWA Conference in London*

Members of Priama akcia participated in the conference in London, to celebrate the IWA's 90th anniversary. There were speeches on the theory and practice of anarcho-syndicalism and IWA, on the history and current activities of the FORA and on the social crisis in Argentina in 2001, on the experiences of Priama akcia and on the history of SolFed and the current anti-workfare campaign.

## NEWS FROM ZSP-IWA



### LG Kills!

The factories producing for LG Electronics in Poland have long been known for dangerous and poor working conditions. In November, a worker was killed at a factory producing for LG in the Special Economic Zone in Biskupice Podgorne, near Wroclaw. In response, the local ZSP organized a picket at the Agency for the Development of Industry, which oversees and encourages the development of the Zone, known for its brutal working conditions. The comrades pointed out that the 26-year old worker was crushed while operating a forklift, which he had no license or training to use and that such work was not covered in his contract. He was working at the factory through a temporary work agency. They demanded improved conditions in the Zone and responsibility for such accidents.

### Roche Workers Testify about Outside Firms

On December 17, the first hearing in a lawsuit against Roche Polska took place. Our comrade, an IT worker, is suing to have his employment status recognized, be reinstated at work and to get compensation for lost benefits. The employer had been using third parties and outside firms to pay the workers, even when the outside firm had nothing to do with the work done. Such firms served only to be an intermediary and to pay the workers. The company then did not give them benefits nor did they give them any of the guarantees workers have under the Labour Code. A couple of witnesses were heard, former and current employees of the company. In the testimonies we heard about how Roche called in an employee for an interview, hired him but then told him he'd have to be employed through someone else and how the employee never even met his so-called employer. These testimonies gave a rather clear picture of what kind of hiring practices were used in the company to avoid direct contracts.

It is also worth mentioning that at the beginning of the hearing, the lawyer for Roche proposed to settle and pay the worker damages of around 10,000 euros if he would waive any further claims. He did not agree to this and continued with the case. It is important since his case can have an impact on hundreds of workers who are waiting on the outcome.

### ZSP Health Workers Union

ZSP welcomes the establishment of a Health Workers branch union, which became part of ZSP in December 2012. So far the union has hospital workers from 2 cities, nurses and orderlies, but it is open to all category of health care workers.

### Education Workers' Bulletin

The Education Workers' Union from Warsaw has started to publish its own bulletin. The bulletin also appears in an English-language version as there are several foreigners in the union. It can be downloaded from the PDF section of the ZSP website: [www.zsp.net.pl](http://www.zsp.net.pl)

### Support for Strike in Slovakia

The Education Workers Union in Warsaw made some actions in solidarity with striking education workers in Slovakia, in response to a call from Priama akcia. Pickets and leafleting were done at the Embassy and Cultural Institute in Warsaw and posters and leaflets distributed at Warsaw University and a number of educational institutions. The union positively viewed the attempts of our colleagues in Slovakia to continue striking and organize despite the actions of the mainstream unions.

### Solidarity with 14N

On November 14, members of ZSP took part in various actions in solidarity with Nov. 14 strikes,



calling for radicalization of the workers' movement in Poland. During the whole day we made coverage of events, which were subject to a media blackout in Poland. We paid special attention to the actions at San Raffaele hospital in Milan, where our comrades from USI-AIT were striking and to the many actions of the CNT-AIT in Spain.

In the morning people visited the small symbolic pickets of the mainstream unions with some more radical message. In the afternoon, ZSP education workers were busy handing out leaflets. In the evening, there was an action in front of the presidential palace, both in support of the strikes and calling for the radicalization of the struggle in Poland. Afterwards some leafleting was done in nearby business, mostly cafes.

## **Education Workers Fight Against Shady Contracts**

At the beginning of the year, ZSP Education workers started work on developing a long-term campaign against the use of trash contracts in education. The first thing that we started on was informing about the use of "authors' contracts" instead of employment relations or even typical civil contracts. With these contracts, teachers were being paid for writing courses, instead of teaching them. So in fact, the contracts do not guarantee any wage based on time spent working and creates a big possibility of being cheated. The contracts also imply no working relationship and removes the responsibility of the school to make social security payments. We saw that this type of contract was being used to cheat workers and we targetted some foreign language schools that we knew were using them to begin with. A few weeks later, we were informed that the Social Security Office would do something about this problem. Critical of how the state acts, even when it is supposedly in our interest, we released the following statement.

### **ZSP Education and IT Workers on Controls Related to Author's Contracts in Warsaw Language Schools**

Recently ZSP Education Workers pointed out how some educational institutions were using „authors'

contracts" for teachers and what negative consequences this could have for them. In particular, we noted their use in a number of foreign language schools in Warsaw, where people were being cheated, especially foreigners. The Social Security office has responded by announcing that it would inspect the schools and see if these teachers are being denied their correct status. This is being done by this office because on "authors' contracts", the schools do not make social security payments.

Although we welcome measures to stop the use of these abusive contracts, we remain critical as to how the state acts in terms of workers' rights. At the same time that the Social Security Office is moving against these schools, which are predominantly small businesses, tens of thousands of workers are also losing all or part of their social security payments in other ways, or being forced to bear the burden themselves. We cannot forget that workers who are supposed to make their own payments while forced to be fake „entrepreneurs" tend to pay the lowest contribution possible and often pay in much less to their pension than their real employers would have to. The Social Security system is losing tons of money through this and workers are losing parts of their pensions. ZSP points out the abusive use of this scheme plus the use of „authors' contracts" in the IT industry. This abuse is even used in huge multinational corporations which the state refuses to control.

We point out that while these schools may be punished for using these abusive contracts, the teachers may also be found liable, owing money to the tax office. We are strongly against measures which also punish those who were coerced into signing these contracts, especially as the majority of people are simply not aware of the implications.

Finally, we point out that all of these measures against abusive contracts do not counterbalance the fact that the state is casualizing the teachers' profession in a very systematic way, making the use of trash contracts in education more common. Controlling actions against a small part of the abuse while being complicit in the much larger problem of the attack on education workers does not exonerate the state in any way from their responsibility. The struggle continues.



## Save our Street!



ZSP, along with local residents and the Tenants' Defense Committee is organizing actions against the negligence of the city and a consortium building a new metro line in Warsaw. The buildings were not protected properly from the construction, there is a lot of damage and more is expected as the building goes on. The office of the ZSP is located in a landmark building along the line and some of our members live around there. We have said that if safety measures are not taken, we will take direct action to stop the construction.

## Days of Action

The IWA has decided to hold various days of action in March and April 2013.

The Sections of the IWA will take part in days of action around May Day, with the actions related to on-going local struggles. In addition to that, days of action against dismissals and unemployment will take place in April and around housing issues in March.

Below is a small text about first days of action.

## Against Capital, Speculation and Gentrification! Housing for People, not for Profit!

ZSP will take part in the IWA Days of Action on Housing in March 2013. Housing is an area where the working class is taking a beating, subjected to pay high prices for the profits of banks, speculators and the propertied. Forced into more and more precarious conditions, faced with mass dismissals, economic downturns, austerity politics and poverty, more and more people are finding themselves in a housing crisis, not able to afford the rent, getting evicted... the problem in some places has reached a massive scale.

ZSP is active against evictions, for better living conditions, popularizing ideas such as popular control of public housing and direct action such as squatting. Again we will bring these slogans to the street around the days of action!

## Boycott Telepizza

Members of ZSP are supporting the boycott of Telepizza called by unions of the CNT in Spain. (Poland is the second biggest market of Telepizza in Europe, after Spain.) The CNT started a campaign after the pizza chain fired some of its unionists. Information about the reasons for the boycott and also about working conditions in Poland are being distributed and posters put on Telepizza outlets. We have had some reaction from Telepizza management.

On February 3, we visited a few Telepizzas with pickets. In Warsaw, two former employees of the firm took part. We leafleted outside and went inside the restaurants to talk to staff and customers. This caused management to come and speak to the picketers. We had some discussions about the working conditions in the local outlets of the chain.

We support the demands of the CNT in Spain for the reinstatement of the comrades fired in Seville and for improved working conditions and encourage workers locally to take action and organize themselves as well.



***Some more information on these and other actions can be found on the ZSP web page:  
[www.zsp.net.pl](http://www.zsp.net.pl)***

## News from the CNT-AIT Spain

### CNT Fights Back Against Telepizza



The CNT has been organizing pickets against the Telepizza chain following the repression of their union activists this January in Seville. In 2012, four workers of a Telepizza restaurant decided to organize themselves. They had had enough of the bad working conditions. Among the problems was that the company would make them work on days off and holidays, with no extra pay and make them stay longer than their shifts, on unpaid time. There were also many other problems, including safety problems with the motorcycles used to deliver pizza.

When the workers made their affiliation known, Telepizza started harassing them. One of the workers was transferred to another location, in an attempt to dissuade the others. It didn't work. The workers demanded extra pay for working nights and holidays and a guaranteed weekly rest. On January 8, the company fired the 3 workers because of their activity.

The union responded with actions in front of that Telepizza. The solidarity has spread around Spain and even internationally: pickets have been made in cities around Spain including Leon, Valladolid, Gijon, Burgos, Barcelona, Cordoba and Salamanca – the last two of which also had unionizing experience in Telepizza. The union is demanding the reinstatement of the comrades, safe motorcycles in good condition, the implementation of their previous demands and the application of a collective agreement.

### The end of the strike in the “Casa de les Monges” residence

*In the last issue of the bulletin, we wrote about the strike in Sabadell of workers at the Casa de les Monges residence. We are happy to report that the company agreed not to cut salaries and the workers gained some of their demands.*

The company removed the sanctions on CNT workers, after almost two months of intermittent indefinite strike. On Thursday, November 29 the residence management finally met with the strike committee of CNT. The following points were agreed at the meeting:

The company made a commitment not to lower the salaries of the workers, at least for now.

They will pay the Christmas bonus to workers, on a prorated basis until the Government pays the debts to the company.

The management is committed to dealing with the issues of workers health and safety and will continue to meet regularly.

We are pleased that the company and the workers have reached an agreement directly and without intermediaries.

The union, with this good perspective, has stopped the strike and appreciates the outpouring of support received.

CNT Union "Les Monges"

### 36 Days on Strike, Agreement and Betrayal On the IMESAPI Workers' Strike in Granollers

After a long strike action seemed to end successfully, IMESAPI workers found that the struggle continues.

Workers of the lighting plant in Granollers, Catalunya, Spain, went on strike at the end of 2012 against planned cuts which would, amongst other things, mean the dismissal of four of the 21 workers. All of the workforce went on strike for 36 days, holding various protests and gaining the support of the community and social organizations. The company provides lighting for the town and workers argued that this was like an attack on public services. IMESAPI itself is a part of the huge ACS conglomerate owned by multibillionaire Florentino Pérez.



The company had made similar cuts in Tenerife and Barcelona. The militant unionists in Granollers decided that they would strike.

The company responded by not paying the workers their annual Christmas bonus. But after more than a month of striking, they agreed to meet with the City Council and the workers. IMESAPI agreed to decrease the reductions, although with some reduced worktime every 19 weeks. The workers were convinced that their strike had been successful. However, IMESAPI reneged on their agreement and on February 1, fired four of the workers. Mobilizations are being organized against these dismissals, which are also seen as repression for the strike.

### Actions against Coosur

The CNT of Jaen has been maintaining an open conflict with Coosur, a producer of olive oil for the last few months. The conflict started when a comrade from the union, who was the only one at his workplace to join the general strike last year, was fired. The CNT Jaen points out that the company markets a socially responsible image to its consumers and receives hundreds of millions of euro in subsidies. The boycott campaign shows how the company really treats workers.

Solidarity actions were made in Madrid and La Roda de Andalucia where the company has business and other actions were held in several other Spanish cities, including Salamanca, Malaga, Miranda del Ebro and Andujar. The comrades have also targetted the Acesur group which owns Coosur and called for a boycott of their brands. Recently it was shown that Acesur was using GMOs in their supposedly organic products.



### Repression in Piedra Supermarkets



The CNT in Cordoba has initiated a campaign against union repression and dismissals in Piedra Supermarkets. Last Nov. 23 they held the first in a series of protests against the dismissal of 5 members of the union, including the union delegate. The CNT says it will not allow attacks to continue against the workers that unionize to defend their rights.



On Nov. 23, around 100 people protested in front of the supermarket against its anti-union practices. Many neighbours also supported. This showed to the workers that there is solidarity and mutual aid, that together we can work to stop these practices and gain decent working conditions.

This company does not respect workers rights, making them work unpaid overtime, firing people on sick leave, paying less than they should under the collective agreement and not complying with safety norms.

Informational actions are being held, including leafleting at the entrances of supermarkets, calling on consumers to boycott Piedra and other businesses belonging to the same owner.

## **The CNT accuses the government of practicing the politics of intentionally destroying employment and increasing unemployment**

The anarcho-sindicalist union considers that the unemployment data, released yesterday, are the desired result of the politics of cuts and dismissals made by different governments and through European institutions.

CNT believes that the EPA data, released yesterday, show the effects of the actual policies being promoted, and that produces the desired result of the multiplication of layoffs and the systematic destruction of jobs. The anarcho-sindicalist union claims that the official discourse on job creation is simply a justification for more cuts in workers' rights, casualization and the dismantling of public services and policies in favor of the interests of management and banks.

For the CNT, 6 million unemployed people only confirms the irrational character of an economic system which prioritizes benefits for the bosses and banks as opposed to the necessities and welfare of society. An economic system which neglects necessities such as education, health care, care professions, while people with the capacity, will and knowledge to satisfy these needs are left without resources.

CNT accuses the bosses and the government of failing to stop to promote unemployment as a way to impose worse salaries, more precarious working conditions and to roll back decades of workers' struggle, spreading fear amongst the working class.

The CNT has called for a day of action on February 15 in which it calls on unemployed workers to participate since it considers that nothing can be expected of governments, for which work serves only as a slogan for electoral campaigns and publicity. Similarly, for anarcho-sindicalist, we can expect little or nothing from institutional unionism, accomplices in reduction plans and layoffs, which, for years, have made unemployment a business together with the bosses, through subsidies for the scam of job training and orientation.

CNT thinks that only through mobilization and self-organization of unemployed workers can we assert radical means against this situation, working for the division of work and wealth, moving towards a change in the system using means which are opposite to those currently promoted:

- Reducing the working day;
- Lowering the retirement age;
- Prohibiting overtime and piece work;
- And a guarantee of dignified and sufficient benefits for each unemployed worker.

Secretariat of the Confederal Committee, CNT-AIT

### **CNT union in Iberia: Over 35 years of Struggle**



On May 7, 1977, the comrades Gómez Casas and Barrios presented the statutes of the CNT to the registry of associations to legalize it, after 38 years of being forced underground.

On May 14, the CNT was legalized and some time later the union in Iberia was formed, with all that it supposed at that moment for our members and representatives: labor control, following people, non-renewal of contracts, pressure at work, etc. in a company controlled by people from the military and full of ultra-rightists, with an aviation law from



1961 which penalized many union actions which are now “normal” with imprisonment, not to mention the attacks with rifle butts or the shots in the air which the Guardia Civil lavished on us when we were on strike or in collective bargaining. The older workers still remember serious incidents in Barajas airport and in the Avenue of America in Madrid.

Despite all this, the organization spread in the different entities of the company in Madrid such as motors, IERA, AZI, Industrial Zone, Barajas billing and tracking, sales offices, the cargo terminal, central services, flight (TCPs), as well as in other places and the airport with an atmosphere of marked by a close camaraderie among all of us who have gone through the section. There has always been very direct personal contact between all members, including a weekly meeting and lunch. We dealt with the issues of the section, the union and the life of the CNT.

Not wanting to forget anybody, we could point out the work of such comrades that worked with intense activity and dedication from they time they joined until today, among them Mariano, Pascual, Félix, José Luis, Miguel, Juan Antonio, Teo, Hervás, Javier, Ulecia, Redondo, Gracieta, Santi, Humphrey, Ignacio, Rebeca y many others, not to forget some who have passed away like Manolo Olmedo, Pedro Barja, Ricardo or Peredo, or retired comrades such as Ángel Espinosa or ones that left the company like Coronado, Vicente, Carmen, Paco or Antón. Many of them took up responsibility in the section or the union as well as in regional committees, the Anselmo Lorenzo foundation or the IWA. Or those new comrades from the younger generation who are already assuming significant responsibilities in the section and the union, such as Chema, Jesús, Termis, Mendo or Dani, anarcho-syndicalist workers committed to the idea of achieving a free humanity and always in defense of the working class.

The section participated in all the struggles and conflicts that happened in Iberia (collective agreements, hiring, redundancy plans, dismissals or sanctions against comrades... ) as well as in the air transport sector in general (liberalization, Iberia Express, restructuring of IAG) always showing solidarity with the comrades repressed in other companies like Spanair, Ryanair, Flighcare, etc., especially in favor of paralyzing the activities



in the Barajas airport or the offices in Madrid during general strikes, putting our opinion and messages on the web page of the section <http://iberia.cnt.es> or in interviews with our members in international press agencies and some national media, as was the case during the general strike of November 14.

Nowadays the CNT union in Iberia is growing little by little, developing an intense union activity with demands regarding the mass dismissals in the company on the part of IAG (owners of British Airways and Iberia), assuming a special role in the struggle, spreading the conflict and supporting the coordination of all the groups present in Iberia which are not bound to the union trough of CCOO and UYF, including the pilots union and flight attendants, creating a common front in clear opposition to the so-called “main” unions. The struggle continues in defense of our demand, or employments, working conditions, human dignity and everything that concerns the working class.

These 35 years have passed like a breath, we continue in the gaps and without an expiration date. Estos 35 años se han pasado en un suspiro, seguimos en la brecha y sin fecha de caducidad. It is worth vividly remembering the history of the section and the colleagues who have already passed on, but also especially to support the future of the union, learning from the experience, welcoming new colleagues to ensure the future in anarcho-syndicalist struggle.

CNT Union Section in Iberia  
We continue in the gap and  
without an expiration date

## CNT in the General Strike, November 14



On November 14, the CNT participated in a general strike in Spain. Actions were held in dozens of cities. The forms of protest ranged greatly, from pickets and actions aimed at companies and institutions where the CNT maintains labor conflicts, to direct actions at firms forcing their staff to work. In some cities CNT marched in larger protests and in some they held their own, sometimes with thousands of people joining in. Below is a brief account of some of the actions held that day.



**Barcelona:** In the morning there were various pickets. One was at Melon District, which CNT is in conflict with over union repression. The taxi drivers' union, which was offering free transportation to those who needed it to get to the strike, also held an open assembly. Qualytel workers, who serve the emergency 061 number, went on strike and picketed outside the building. In the afternoon, there were blockades of some streets. In the evening, a large demonstration with over 250,000 people took place, which a large CNT block.

**Madrid:** Actions started in the evening, at midnight. Throughout the morning there were numerous pickets. CNT media workers were active. There was an action at RTVE. The boss called the police on comrades and sympathizers who picketed at Atento. There were pickets at Indra and Isbar

companies, made by IT workers and supported by other comrades. Other actions happened at Erion, which repressed the CNT, Riva Madrid, the National Library in Recoletos... There was a symbolic occupation of the Teatro Español. CNT held its own demonstration. Some unions also participated in a large common demonstration in the evening.



**Salamanca:** CNT activists hit the streets during the day. In the morning, they protested at a market and at the municipal bus depot. One of the larger demonstrations organized by the CNT that day took place in this city, with around 7000 people participating. During the demonstration they shut down a Corte Ingles department store.

**Valencia:** In the morning, there was a picket in front of the meat distributor for Mercadona. Blockades at the industrial polygon followed. Over 2000 people marched in the CNT block during the evening.

**Villaverde:** In the morning activists from CNT went to the industrial polygon. Later they went into a Mercadona supermarket, where they were bothered by the Guardia Civil. Pickets were held in various locations during the day.

**Palma de Mallorca:** CNT pickets went across the city during the day. In the evening, about 8000 people participated in a joint demonstration.

**Castro Urdiales:** In this small town, the CNT was the only union to call a demonstration. About 400 people attended.

**Tenerife:** Hundreds of people marched in pickets in La Laguna and Santa Cruz. An action was held at Kebab Ali Baba, in conflict with the union.

**Vigo:** Large participation in strike. Alternative union manifestation with around 5000 people. A Corte Ingles department store is shut down.



**Cartagena:** The center of the city was blocked during the evening. Many workers participated in the strike, industrial complexes were closed. More than 3000 people marched in the block of the CNT.



**Toledo:** Pickets in defense of public health care at hospital and at the University Campus of the Arms Factory. Another picket held at meat provider for McDonalds. About 300 people in CNT block in evening demonstration.

**Zaragoza:** Pickets, including at Mercadona, FCC (where the CNT has been active), the market, the University. In the evening, thousands participated in the CNT block in a larger demonstration.



**Ciudad Real:** Pickets at various workplaces, including those in conflict with CNT like FREMAP, Mercadona or Adecco.

**Marina Alta:** Pickets were held in the city council of Pedreguer and the Ecoparque in Benissa, where the CNT has unions.

**Sevilla:** CNT made pickets during the day at restaurants and businesses which were open and took part in a common union demonstration during the evening.

**Cordoba:** CNT started at midnight with blocking actions at MercaCórdoba. In the morning, such actions also took place at the bus depot. CNT went around the city trying to close supermarkets and banks. Action at Mercadona. In the evening it took part in a demonstration with other unions.

**Logrono:** Pickets, shutting down businesses. Problems with riot police and repression. Two comrades arrested. CNT Logrono continues with work in solidarity with victims of police repression arrested on November 14.

**Compostela:** Pickets throughout the day. Alternative demonstration gathers in late afternoon. Demonstrators shut down the Cineuropa film festival. About 5000 people demonstrate.

**Alicante:** About 500 people take part in the CNT bloc during a large demonstration.

**La Bisbal:** Pickets in Mercadona and Dia supermarkets.

**Elche:** Pickets in the morning. About 200 in CNT bloc.

**Segovia:** Pickets in the morning and afternoon.

**Santander:** In the morning actions at the railway and post office. Participation in a student demo and alternative demonstration in the evening.

**Sabadell:** Pickets in the morning and afternoon. Participation in anticapitalist demonstration in the evening.



These are just a few of the actions that happened on November 14. More detailed reports can be found on the websites of the CNT local unions.

## The Portuguese CGT and the Foundation of the International Workers' Association



The Portuguese anarchosyndicalist and revolutionary syndicalists [1] were, from the beginning, defenders of the creation of a revolutionary syndicalist International, a desire which would be realized at the Congress in Berlin, held from December 25, 1922 – January 2, 1923, which created the International Workers' Association (IWA). This article, edited for the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the International Workers' Association, aims to recoupate some elements of the history of international relations of the Portuguese workers' organization – founded as the National Confederation of Labour (Confederação Geral do Trabalho - CGT) in 1919 – and its contribution to the creation of the IWA. [2]

Already at the Pró-Paz Congress held in 1915 in the Galician port city of Ferrol, in which the anarchist Manuel Joaquim de Sousa represented the Northern Section of the National Workers' Union (União Operária Nacional - UON) [3], the Portuguese and Spanish delegates agreed on the necessity to “tighten the bonds of solidarity between the proletariat of both countries, starting, in this way, the organization of the Iberian Federation, initial cell of the International Federation of Workers' Unions, against the war, against all wars, against capitalist exploitation and the tyranny of the state.” [4].

In September of 1919, the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Workers' Congress was held in Coimbra, at which the CGT was formed, which contained about 200 unions, representing around 85,000 workers. [6] The foundation of the CGT took place in the context of the expansion and radicalization of the syndical movement. There followed the strike movements that violently confronted the bosses and the state. On February 23, 1919, the publication of the daily paper *A Batalha* began, also as the organ of UON, which quickly became the paper with the third biggest print run in Portugal.

The question of the international affiliation of the confederal organization was discussed at the Congress

in Coimbra. It rejected affiliation to the Amsterdam International (reformist) and preferring the necessity to establish relations with syndical centers in other countries with a view to creating a revolutionary syndicalist international. The following thesis written by Manuel Joaquim de Sousa was approved:

“1. The Portuguese Workers Congress, which met in Coimbra, resolves to set aside the resolution passed by the Congress in Tomar, that the Portuguese Workers Confederation should join the International Syndical Union (Amsterdam), implementing and executing their decisions, both because that body seems no longer to give sign of life, and as primarily because, since there is no corresponding to the needs and objectives of international working class emancipation.

“2. The Portuguese proletariat, organized by its National Federation, will enter into relations with the workers' centrals relations of other countries, without alienating or diminishing their autonomy, respecting each other by the same principles, on the part of the organizations of other countries, which is essential for a good understanding inside the union framework.

“3. The Portuguese Confederation of Workers will influence the conferences, international congresses or the simple and friendly relations with the Centrals of other countries, for the institution of the International Confederation of Labour, with exclusively workers as representatives, which are not endowed with any political mandate, that through this new organization is to coordinate the general action of the workers of all countries that aspire to the common end of their full emancipation.

“4. The Congress of the Portuguese working class declares it will contribute, within their possibilities towards the implementation of any resolution passed by the working class organized in other countries, in order to hasten the fall of the current economic regime of production and its replacement by the management of work liberated through their class bodies” [8].

The Russian revolution had a profound impact on the Portuguese workers movement, soon being hailed in the labour press, which went to its defense against the attacks and lies of the bourgeois press. The anarchosyndicalist press displayed “hope in the Bolsheviks”, nonetheless publishing diverse and contradictory opinions on the Soviet regime. Although they knew that the Bolshevik regime did not respect libertarian principles [9], the anarchosyndicalists refused to side with the bourgeois reaction that threatened the Russian revolution [10].



It was above all an attempt to appropriate and reformulate the revolutionary syndicalist doctrine, through the adoption of Bolshevik methods, which would start an ideological battle which, starting in 1919, would be seen in the workers' press. [11].

Throughout 1919, the syndicalists who supported a Bolshevik "dictatorship of the proletariat" organized themselves in "maximalist councils", starting to publish, in October, a weekly called *A Bandeira Vermelha* (the Red Flag), organ of the Portuguese Maximalist Federation, announced as a "valuable instrument of syndicalist and libertarian propaganda".

In addition, between November 1920 and February 1921, the revolutionary syndicalist Carlos Rates, tried through a series of articles published in the pages of *A Batalha*, to harmonize the revolutionary syndicalist doctrine with the ideas of "the dictatorship" and of "revolutionary vanguard". He was a big defender of the formula according to which Great defender of formula that "syndicalisme suffit à lui-même" (syndicalism is sufficient unto itself) in the polemic which took place in 1913, with revolutionary syndicalists versus anarchists. Rates advocated that this classic precept of syndicalism corresponds to the role of the labor organization in the direction of social life, defending the conquest of power by the CGT, which should assume the role of a revolutionary vanguard, working to establish a dictatorship, decentralized and managed directly by the unions and their federations [13]. The ideas of Charles Rates are thwarted by Emilio Costa, who refutes the idea of a proletarian dictatorship based on the example of Russia, where this form of dictatorship is nothing more than "a dictatorship itself, with its decrees, its sanctions, its executive officers and, especially, its armed forces ... " [14]

Despite being the organ of the CGT, *A Batalha*, long remained neutral to the ideological divide between anarchosyndicalist and syndicalist supporters of Bolshevism; the anarcosyndicalist reaction with the Bolshevik tendency actively involved the general secretary of the CGT, Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, in the anarchist daily he published, *A Commune* [15]. Only in December 1920, the editor of *A Batalha* took a position, rejecting the seizure of power as a revolutionary method in a series of editorials entitled "The Way Forward" [16].

In February 1921, the first Congress of the Federation of Syndicalist Youth affirmed "the methods of revolutionary syndicalism as the means of the economic struggle and of action, inside the current society, educating and preparing ourselves to receive a new social regime,

that would have anarchism for a political system and anarcho-communism as a social-economic regime". [18] A little after the Congress, the Bolshevik faction, led by José de Sousa, abandoned the Syndicalist Youth, assumed to be anarchosyndicalists, to integrate into the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) founded in March.

However, in February, Manuel Joaquim de Sousa published an article in *A Batalha*, titled "International Relations" in which was announced the organization of a revolutionary syndical conference in Berlin [20] and challenges the proletariat to think about the question of workers organization, leaving out the Communist International "to go against what was established in Coimbra and not to establish relations with political parties". [21]

In July 1921, in response to the founding manifesto of the PCP, the Confederal Committee of the CGT published an official note "Facing a new political party". In it, the Confederal Committee affirms "an anticollaborationist character of the syndical organization with institutions of the bourgeoisie or with any political parties, whatever their mode of action and social or political aim" and defended that "the proletariat, on the road to its emancipation from the tutelage of the masters today, does not want to create new chains to the new masters of tomorrow". "Contrary to the statements of the PCP that is a "revolutionary political agency of political administration" and advocated the socialization of the means of production, "delivering production management to the Federations of Industry ", the "CGT union affirms that the syndical organizations, unions, associations of trade unions, federations of industry and the Confederation - being agencies of struggle, will be agencies of expropriation and will not trust any political party (...) because only work can and must carry it out through direct action and our class bodies". "Contrary to the assertion of the PCP that "the union is not self-sufficient," the Confederal Committee responds that "the CGT accepts the meaning of the phrase (...) This is to explain that to get to a philosophically superior social stage, the economic struggle and union action is not enough, but if what you want to conclude that exercising the action of the worker as an enslaved social class in the economic field is not enough, but must be simultaneously in the political arena and in the sterile parliamentary contest, dangerously harmful to the intricacies of politics, then the CGT, faithful to the decisions of the National Congresses, say that the action of the proletariat is enough and that, as such, it will not join any political party or agree that harmful political action develops within the organization". [22]



In July 1921, the Congress of the Red Union International took place in Moscow. [23] Thanks to a system of representation that favoured them, the Bolsheviks were able to advance their plan to create a union international (Profintern) subordinated to the Communist International (Comintern). The revolutionary syndical organizations, many of which were continuing without a clear position in relation to the Profintern, they failed to carry out a project of a revolutionary syndical international, despite the presence of their delegates at the Congress, who adopted a “Manifesto of international revolutionary syndicalists” and agreed to create an “association of international revolutionary elements”. [24]

But as the repression that happening that affected the anarchists and anarchosyndicalists in Bolshevik Russia, which grew harder in the year of 1921, the position of the revolutionary syndicalist organizations became clear. In June of 1922, “an international syndicalist conference with the objective to study the differences of the existing positions between the revolutionary syndicalist movement of all the countries and the Red Union International” was held in Berlin to come to an agreement on the formation of an International of Revolutionary Unions, in case the differences with the Profintern were not possible to resolve”. [25] The conference ended by agreeing a break with the Profintern and the calling of an international congress of revolutionary unions.

In the meanwhile, in Portugal, in the first days of October 1922, the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Workers' Congress was held in Covilha. The principle theses presented to vote on were regarding the organic structure of the CGT, highlighting the idea of a “Social Syndicalist Organization” [26] and international relations, with a proposal to join the Red Union International. The Congress ended up dominated by the question of international relations because there was a confrontation between the Bolshevik minority faction, which tried to conquer the CGT and a great majority of revolutionary syndicalists and anarchosyndicalists, which tried to preserve the revolutionary syndicalist character, autonomous and apolitical in the workers confederation.

The debate was lively, with 40 delegates asking to speak on the question. Fernando de Almeida Marque, representative of the Syndicalist Youth, gave a speech in which he stated “The Syndicalist Youth do not agree to join Moscow, declaring itself faithful to the principles of revolutionary syndicalism that it always defends (...) If we accepted joining Moscow, we'd have to accept ties to the Portuguese Communist Party, when a little time ago, all the organization rejected this, solidarizing with the official note of the CGT (...) The transformation of the Profintern is impossible because Portugal would have 1 vote in it, and Russia 17. Such a system of votes is overwhelming”. [27]

The proposal to join Moscow's International was rejected, with 55 votes in favour of not joining, 22 against and 8 abstentions, from a motion by Clemente Vieira dos Santos, that started with a series of considerations: “Considering that revolutionary syndicalism has its historic origins in the conflicts triggered in the ideological laboratory of the First International, carried out by fervent proponents of the principles of centralism and authoritarianism, that the idea of the “Social Syndicalist Organization” confirms the principle of the First International (...); which also confirms that the workers' movement under the supreme inspiration of revolutionary syndicalism arose at a moment of spontaneous revolt against the predominance of the political parties; that the modern Portuguese organization had supported an ideal, affirming a tactic – that of revolutionary syndicalism and a goal – free communis; that (...) syndicalism, organization based in the professions, has for its immediate goal the defense of the direct struggle of the classes and expropriation against the bourgeois regime, the bosses and the state; that therefore, (...) has an exclusively and purely anti-political and anti-statist action and is a stranger to any governing power, rejecting, ipso facto, the principles and means of action of the democracy; (...) that the ideological principles consigned in the thesis of the “Social Syndicalist Organization” coincide perfectly with the principles expressed in the motions approved at the International Conference in Berlin (...)”

Referring to the idea presented at the Congress in favour of joining the Red Union International, the motion approved was classified as “an lamentable error that revokes all the doctrines and characteristics of revolutionary syndicalism” because the Profintern “defends the conquest of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the hands of a central power with is falsely proletariat; (...) it determines a strict contact and organizational and technical ties with the Profintern and the Communist International; (...) it establishes a real and strict tie between the workers' union and the

communist party of Russia accepting the interpenetration of members of one and the other in its directive organs; (...) being perfectly tied to the Communist Party of Russia which is in power, at the side of the State and the Moscow government (...) being so, it is considered as an instrument of the Russian state, being politically subordinate to it, which destroys all the revolutionary syndicalist essence which the Portuguese workers organization should maintain at all cost”.

Thus, the motion of Clemente Vieira dos Santos concludes:

“The National Workers' Congress, meeting in Covilha, resolves:

1. To rectify its complete accord to maintain the thesis approved on the Social Syndicalist Organization;
2. To maintain the genuine characteristic of revolutionary syndicalism on which the Portuguese workers organization is based;
- 3, Not to join any of the two existing Internationals, one (Amsterdam) for falsifying its historic mission, collaborating with the bourgeoisie; the other, the Profintern, for establishing a coalition with communist political parties and states that stall and absorb the revolution and for being intimately related to the Russian State;
4. To accept the principles established at the Conference of Berlin, because they are coherent with the revolutionary spirit established in the thesis of the Social Syndicalist Organization, hoping, for a definitive resolution, for the effectiveness of the Congress marked by the same Conference, in which it will be, if possible, represented by the Portuguese proletariat. [28]

The founding congress of the anarchosyndicalist international, called the International Working Men's Association, finally took place in Berlin between the days of December 25, 1922 and January 2, 1923. The Portuguese CGT sent its written support and was recognized as a member with full rights by the Congress. [29]

Despite precisely indicating its orientation in international relations, given at the Congress of Covilha, the CGT had to take a definitive decision on its affiliation to the IWMA, founded in Berlin. This decision was taken on September 8, 1924, when 115 unions voted, at the request of the Confederal Council of the CGT, in a referendum on joining the international. The

result was even more enlightening, as according to Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, at the Covilha Congress "in the referendum, it was the bodies that spoke themselves". 104 unions voted in favour, 6 in favour of joining the Profintern and 5 abstained. [30]

In 1923, there was a Conference of Workers' Organizations of Spain and Portugal in Evora, with the presence of Ácrato Lluhl, Manuel Pérez and Sebastián Clara as delegates of the CNT and José da Silva Santos Arranha and Manuel Joaquim de Sousa for the CGT. In this meeting, according to Edgar Rodrigues, “ Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, with the support of Manuel Pérez, for the first time proposed the unification of the Confederal and Libertarian Movement of the Iberian Peninsula, encompassing Spanish and Portuguese anarchists”. [31] The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was installed in Spain in 1923, which made the CNT illegal and the military dictatorship in Portugal in 1926, which made CGT illegal in 1927, made the project of the Iberian workers' confederation impossible. [32]

Meanwhile, the Portuguese Communist Party continued its work as an opposition inside the CGT with the objective of “conquering it”, following the orders of the Moscow regime and receiving, from the same, orientation and support. [33]

In 1924 there followed workers' congresses which approved joining the AIT (3rd Congress of Tanners, 3rd Congress of Footwear, Leather and Fur, 1st Congress of the Workers of the Canning Industry, 2nd Congress of the Cooper Industry) [34]. The 6th Congress of Rural Workers adopted a Declaration of Principles in which he stated: "rural workers reject wage labor and does not include it within the free communism with socialized land. They prefer fraternal agreement between rural agencies and industry bodies for the reciprocal exchange of usable products, tools and raw materials within the country through the CGT, and the world through the AIT ". [35]

From the 23-27 of September 1925, the 1<sup>st</sup> Confederal Congress (4<sup>th</sup> National) was held in Santarém, with a presence of 164 delegates, representing 113 unions, 11 industrial federations and 5 union associations. The 22 unions that could not send delegates also expressed their adherence to the Congress. The IWA was represented at the Congress by Armando Borghi and the CNT of Spain by Avelino Gonzalez and Segundo Blanco. The Congress ratified, without polemics, the affiliation to the IWA. [36]

The active participation of the CGT in the activity of the International continued throughout the decade of the 20s,

with the particular efforts of Manuel Joaquim de Sousa. In 1925, the CGT was represented at the 2nd IWA Congress in Amsterdam by Manuel da Silva Campos. In 1926 Manuel Joaquim de Sousa was the delegate of the CGT at the international conference in Paris. Also in 1926, Manuel Joaquim de Sousa represented the IWA, along with Armando Borghi, at the Congress of Marseille of the Federation of Spanish-speaking Anarchist Groups. [37]

Despite not having been present at the international meetings that led to the creation of the International Workers' Association, the Portuguese workers' organization was, early on, a strong supporter of the creation of a revolutionary syndicalist international.

The creation of this international was, for the Portuguese revolutionary syndicalists and anarcho-syndicalists, part of a project of social transformation on a global level, to be undertaken by revolutionary syndicalist organizations. From 1920-21, it has also corresponded to the need to maintain a syndical confederation with a revolutionary line and independent of any political formation. The latter objective, became pressing against attempts of a faction fascinated with the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Russia, however organized as the Portuguese Communist Party, (PCP), to subordinate the confederal organization to the directives of the Bolshevik government in Moscow, trying to affiliate to the Profintern. Likewise, the federation of revolutionary organizations of the labor movement, first at the Iberian level and then at the global level, had a goal that had been advocated since at least 1915, by the Portuguese anarcho-syndicalist militants.

## R. Pereira

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### Notes

1 - Although the terms revolutionary syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism are often used synonymously, we take them here to have different meanings. Manuel Joaquim de Sousa realized the differences between revolutionary syndicalists and anarchists, in 1913, within the labor movement: the first, like Manuel Ribeiro Carlos and Rates, "following the interpretation of Sorel" argue that "syndicalism is sufficient in itself," the second, such as Emilio Costa, Clement Vieira dos Santos and Neno Vasco, conclude that "if Unionism expresses concept of class struggle in the margins of political parties and aims at the economic transformation of the society, its existence as a doctrine

and action ceases as soon as the agreement freely and voluntarily determine new formulas that meet the new material and spiritual needs of human life in its most varied and complex manifestations." (SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – *Syndicalism in Portugal*. Port: Afrontamento, 1972 [1st ed. 1931] p. 95-96).

The Dutch syndicalist Christiaan Cornelissen, in studying the revolutionary syndicalist movement of his time, "distinguished three groups among the activists of revolutionary syndicalism: unionists, who regarded syndicalism as 'self-sufficient' and distinct from any other ideology [...]; Anarchists, who saw in the union movement a possibility of passing from agitation to action and, finally, members of socialist parties and groups who wanted to remove socialism from the parliamentary impasse "(DAMIER, V., *Anarcho-syndicalism in the 20th Century*. Edmonton: Black Cat Press, 2009 p. 24). all these trends are observable within the Portuguese labor movement in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

2. There is no denying the enormous contribution in this regard of Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, anarchist militant anarchist active in all the discussions on international relations in the Portuguese labor movement. Manuel Joaquim de Sousa, a shoe worker, was born in 1885 in Paranhos, in the city of Porto. From an early age he had anarchist ideas, integrating into the Portuguese labor movement. Despite only having 2 years of primary education, he was an influential speaker, debater, journalist and member of the anarcho-syndicalist movement. In 1919 he was elected the first Secretary General of the General Confederation of Labor and later was editor in chief of the confederal newspaper "A Batalha". Responding to a request from the AIT he edited the book *Syndicalism in Portugal*, one of the main sources for the history of the labor movement in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

3. The National Workers' Union, the first unitary organization of the Portuguese labor movement, was founded in March 1914 at the Congress of Tomar. In this Congress, the reformist and revolutionary currents of the labor movement faced met, and a reconciling solution resulted from this battle. The influence of the Portuguese Socialist Party was still great, especially in the northern unions. The "revolutionary elements were forced to make relevant concessions" but "managed to formalize union independence against those in power and political parties". This conference would result in "a reversal of socialist influence, but also the anarchist, in class associations ", with it being the revolutionary syndicalists who would ensure "unity between reformists and anarcho-syndicalists". (Pereira, Joana Dias -



Sindicalismo revolucionário: a história de uma *idéa*. Lisboa: Caleidoscopio Syndicalism: a History of an idea. Lisbon: Kaleidoscope, 2011, p. 85-88).

4. SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de - O sindicalismo em Portugal. (Syndicalism in Portugal) Porto: Afrontamento, 1972 [1a ed. 1931], p. 105.

5. PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 133. The principal question of this congress, regarding the creation of the Confederation "clearly established the principles of revolutionary syndicalism – autonomy based on the federation, independence from any political or religious doctrine, the goal of the abolition of wage labor, for possession of all means of production." The conference sought to avoid the differences between reformists and revolutionaries, particularly between militants influenced by the Russian Revolution and the anarchists" with revolutionary syndicalism as a conciliatory solution. (PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 133).

6 - FREIRE, Joao – Anarquistas e operarios: ideologia, oficio e praticas sociais: o anarquismo e o operariado em Portugal, 1900-1940. (Anarchists and Workers: Ideology, Office and Social Practices: Anarchism and the Proletariat in Portugal. Porto: Afrontamento, 1992, p. 203. This author estimates that there were 85,000 workers in the federation in 1920-1921, 90,000 in 1922, 55,000 in 1923-1924 and 70,000 in 1925. Other authors, like Rudolf Rocker, put the affiliation of the CGT at 150,000 members in 1922. (ROCKER, Rudolf – Anarcho-syndicalism), probably according to the information of Manuel da Silva Campos, delegate from the CGT to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the IWA in Amsterdam. (FREIRE, Joao – Ibid.).

7 PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 120. In this context, the Portuguese Social Party, sees "its influence in the syndical milieu reduced to a minimum" and its representatives abandon "the claim to hegemony in the workers' movement " (p.120-121).

8. SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 112-113.

9. The anarchist magazine *A sementeira*, responding to the question posed by Pierre Monatte to the French workers' movement – "Is the Soviet, by chance, something very different than the Local Association of Unions?" - stated its mistrust of "certain political superstitions políticas, resulting from the dualism of the economic organization (economic Soviet or union) and the centralized political organization (política union)" (PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 127).

10 - PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 126-127.

11. The first protagonists of this polemic, which took place in the pages of the CGT daily *A Batalha*, were the revolutionary syndicalist Manuel Ribeiro, who started to argue that the best way to achieve "emancipation from the masters" is "the conquest of power" disseminating "the formidable work of remodelling society carried out by the Soviets" and the anarchist Emilio Costa, who rejects the "socialist tactic of conquest of public powers" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat", "a danger for (...) the base necessary for the improvement in the collective life: liberty " (quoted by PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 127-128).

12. PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 138. *A Bandeira Vermelha* advocated the Soviet regime, spreading the ideas of the Bolshevik leaders and seeking to legitimize the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a transition phase for the society wanted by the Portuguese unions and "Sovietism" as "the Slavic formula of western workers' syndicalism". Defending the "social revolution made real in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as a new era in terms of ideologies (Manuel Ribeiro, "Novas Tendências Sociais", *A Bandeira Vermelha*, 7 October 1919, cited by PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 139), the Portuguese Maximalist Federation did not neglect to assume the role of revolutionary vanguard when it should give the conditions for the establishment of Soviet power in Portugal and claimed the need for a "strong union organization of proletarian and revolutionary" (PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 139). But the ideological confusion between the proponents of Bolshevism in Portugal were of such dimensions that, in response to the criticisms that were arising, *A Bandeira Vermelha* also stated: "each person that, in Portugal, declares himself a Bolshevik or anarchist or revolutionary syndicalist (...) adopting, with all, the label of Bolsheviks, communists, maximalists or Sovietists always fight the bourgeois institutions uncompromisingly and accelerate the development of the capitalist region towards the anarchist society with which is the goal which the Russian Bolsheviks tend towards ("Declaração de Principios" (Declaration of Principles) , *A Bandeira Vermelha*, 12 October 1912, cited by PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p.139). In *A Bandeira Vermelha* "recourse to the great figures of the libertarian school will be very common", anarchist ideologues being "almost as cited as Lenin " (PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p.140)

13 - PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 147-149.

14 - Emilio Costa, "A Revolucao sem Ditadura, Para Evitar Confusoes", (The Revolution without Dictatorship, to Avoid Confusion) *A Batalha*, 21 of January 1921, cited by PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 149.



15 - PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 151.

16 - PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 152.

17. The Syndicalist Youth (JS) existed as an organized movement between 1913 and 1927, joining the anarchist and syndicalist movements at the same time. The organization of the Syndicalist Youth was based in local autonomous nuclei, whose goals passed through the moral, intellectual and physical education of its members, for the energizing of the spirit of association and protest, for the propaganda of the principles of revolutionary syndicalism and workers' direct action, for the spreading of internationalist and anti-militarist ideas. In 1921 they had a split provoked by their secretary general, José de Sousa, who founded the youth organization of the Communist Party with a fraction of the members of the Syndicalist Youth, on the part of the CGT. In the period of 1913-1917, there existed 35 stable cells of the JS. In 1922, after the Bolshevik split, the JS had 5000 members and in 1923, about 300 and 1924 about 2000. In the Declaration of Principles approved in its 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress in 1926, the FJS stated it was “anarchist in its ideology” and “revolutionary syndicalist in its means of action”. It also

stated it was anti-militarist, anti-authoritarian, revolutionary being “outright hostile in its attitude towards political parties”. The JS were a preferred object of political repression due to its reputation for radicalism which, starting from 1920, started to be associated with bombs and attacks. In 1921, the Congress of the Federation enshrined violence as a means of action and agreed on the creation of a secret Committee of Syndical Defence, a secret parallel organization aimed at support actions for the syndical struggles. Repression led to, only in March 1922, the detention of close to 200 activists and the closure of the Cells in Lisbon, Almada and Évora. A great number of militants of the JS were deported to the Portuguese colonies of Africa and Timor. Cf. FREIRE, João – *As Juventudes Sindicalistas: um movimento singular*. (The Syndicalist Youth: a unique movement) Penélope, 4 (1989).

18 - “O I Congresso das Juventudes Sindicalistas”, (the first Congress of the Syndicalist Youth) *A Batalha*, 2 February 1921, cited by PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 155.

19 - OLIVEIRA, Cesar – *O Primeiro Congresso do Partido Comunista Portugues*. (The First Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party) Lisboa: Seara Nova, 1975, p. 35. According to these author, the founding of the Portuguese Communist Party came from an action of the Maximalist Federation, but “did not result in the growth of this organization or its influence on the masses. In fact, the peak period of the CGT was exactly between 1919 and 1923-1924” (p. 35- 36).

20. In December 1920, the revolutionary syndicalist FAUD (Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschland) organized an international conference in Berlin which had the objective to try to come to agreement between the revolutionary syndicalists on the international question and, in particular, on a congress for the creation of a syndical international announced for May of 1921 in Moscow. (This congress was postponed for July.) Delegations from the following organizations were present: FAUD (Germany), Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees (CSR, France), SAC (Sweden), NAS (Holland), Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement (Gran Bretaña), Federación Regional Obrera Argentina (FORA, Argentina) and the Industrial Workers of the World (USA). The conference also received shows of support from the Fagopositionens Sammenslutning of Denmark, from the Norsk Syndikalistik Federasjon from Norway and the Portuguese CGT. There was also a representative of the Soviet union central present. The conference could not count on the presence of the Unione Sindacale Italiana due to its engagement in the factory occupation



movement in Italy, nor on the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo from Spain, which was dealing with a wave of repression. Of these organizations, the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement and the CSR of France joined the Profintern. The Declaration which came out of the Conference of Berlin, approved by all the delegates, with the exception of the French and the Russians, calls for the participation of revolutionary organizations in the congress of May 1921 in Moscow, with a view to forming an international of revolutionary unions of all the world, at the same time affirming the role of the unions in the revolution and their independence from political parties. There was also a Syndicalist Information Bureau established. (THORPE, Wayne – The workers themselves”: revolutionary syndicalism and international labour, 1913-1923. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1989, p. 150-153).

21 - PEREIRA, Joana Dias – Op. Cit., p. 155.

22. SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 130-136. Later analyzing the misunderstandings caused by the communists in the CGT “Not all the activists were anarchists, but all were revolutionary, anti-parlamentarians and few or none were collaborationists, including in the economic field ” and that “ at the first signs of deviation, preconceived by the Communist Party in formation, an official note was sent as a response to the CGT (...) and all the organization responded supporting the note without restriction ” (Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 159).

23. The CGT sent as an observer to the Congress of the Profintern the unionist Perfeito de Carvalho. Manuel Joaquim de Sousa narrates the history of the Portuguese delegation to the Congress of the Profintern, "the CNT asked the CGT to send a delegate to Russia to attend the Congress of the Profintern and saw that Spain would send 5 delegates. The Committee of the Portuguese CGT delegation knew that this was not a valid decision and arbitrary (Plenary of Lérida) and that the Logroño plenary of the CNT would deauthorize it , a disavowal later confirmed by the Conference of Zaragoza. They accepted it as valid and good and appointed Perfeito de Carvalho. He, however, was to attend the Congress respecting the principles and decisions of the organization voted at the Portuguese Congress in Coimbra and should, according to his previous commitment, develop a brochure which would relate the living conditions of the people in Russia under the new regime and, above all, the proletariat - based on his direct observations, in order to clarify this to the Portuguese proletariat. However, he did not satisfy his commitment. On his return to Portugal, in November 1921, he limited



himself to verbal explanations and translating speeches of the Congress - that he could not attend due to arriving late -which were published in a pamphlet by the French Communist delegate, Rosmer. Vested with a mandate from the Profintern, he left again to return to Portugal when there was the Congress of Covilha, although in the performance of this last mandate, but without doing what was entrusted to him by the Portuguese CGT "(Sousa, Manuel Joaquim de - op., p. 138-139).

24 - “All the revolutionary syndicalist organizations that took part in the conference in Berlin in 1920 sent representatives (except the FAUD )” (DAMIER, V. - Anarchosyndicalism in the 20th Century. Edmonton: Black Cat Press, 2009, p. 74).

25 - DAMIER, V. - Op. Cit., p. 78-79.

26 – The idea of a “Social syndicalist organization” advocated the adherence to “ the international which was most in harmony with the revolutionary syndicalist ideal ” (SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 213).

27 - SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 143-144.



28 - SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 144-147.

29 – There were representatives from FORA (Argentina), USI (Italy), FAUD (Germany), the Chilean section of the IWW, SAC (Sweden), NSF (Norway), Syndikalistik Propagandaforbund (Denmark), NAS (Holland), CGT (Mexico). The delegates from the CNT (Spain) were detained before arriving to Berlin. The delegate of FORU (Uruguay) also arrived too late to participate. There were also consultative votes from organizations from France, Germany, Russia and Czechoslovakia. (THORPE, Wayne – Op. Cit., p. 214-215).

30 - SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 148-149.

31 - RODRIGUES, Edgar – Historia do Movimento Anarquista em Portugal, (History of the Anarchist Movement in Portugal) Piracicaba: Ateneu Diego Gimenez, 2010, p. 17.

32 - GARDNER, Jason – Creating Unity or Division? The Origins of the Federacion Anarquista Iberica. University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History, 6 (2003), p. 9. According to Jason Gardner, “only when the Syndicalist Federation of Iberia became something impossible, the process of creating the FAI [Iberian Anarchist Federation] started to go forward seriously ” (p. 9).

Created in 1927, the Iberian Anarchist Federation corresponded in a “necessary sense to unite the libertarian movement of the Iberian Peninsula”, with a view, also, to revitalizing anarchism and syndicalism in Spain and Portugal. (GARDNER, Jason – Op. Cit., p. 10).

33 - Jules Humbert Droz, sent by the Comintern to Portugal to organize the Communist Party of Portugal, would write in a 1923 report: “The work in the CGT in favor of the Red Union International is carried out by a union minority that maintains the best relations with the party and which concluded a pact with them in which the party left this union minority to lead action in the CGT. But the party imposes an obligation on its members to join this union minority. It reserves the right to propose the party and defend its point of view and keeps the right to form, in all unions, its communist nuclei which will support the actions of the minority and make communist propaganda. The party is the right arm of the union minority and its action is very important for the conquest of the CGT”. And also Humbert Droz stated on the “union minority”: “it was organized in the month of August and has already carried out interesting work .... (...) The union majority is in fill crisis; the secretariat wanted to apply sanctions to the minority, this was rejected by the congress and he had to resign. A new secretary was nominated that tolerated the minority, but this incident provoked very lively battles amongst the majority, individual struggles and ones of prestige which our friends will benefit from ”. Cited by OLIVEIRA, César – O Primeiro Congresso do Partido Comunista Português, p. 94-96.

34 SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 154

35 SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 157

36 SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 161-162

37 SOUSA, Manuel Joaquim de – Op. Cit., p. 189

